

of this policy of the silver legislation, and of the refunding of the 44 per cent bonds, has been a large increase of the money in circulation. At the date the money in circulation was \$1,494,255,896, or \$23.03 per capita; while on the 1st day of December, 1891, it had increased to \$1,577,202,670, or \$24.38 per capita. The office of the secretary of the treasury to the holders of the 44 per cent bonds to extend the time of redemption at the option of the government, at an interest of 2 per cent, was accepted by the holders of about one-half the amount, and the unextended bonds are being redeemed on presentation.

**IMPROVED CONDITION OF THE ARMY.**  
The report of the secretary of war exhibits the result of an intelligent, progressive and businesslike administration of a department which has been too much regarded as one of mere routine. The separation of Secretary Proctor from the department by reason of his appointment as a senator from the state of Vermont is a source of great regret to me and his colleagues in the cabinet, as I am sure it will be to all those who have had business with the department while under his charge. In the administration of army affairs some especially good work has been accomplished. The efforts of the secretary to reduce the percentage of desertions by removing the causes that promoted it have been so successful as to enable him to report for the last year a lower percentage of desertion than has been reached in the history of the army. The resulting money saving is considerable, but the improvement in the morale of the enlisted men is the most valuable incident of the reforms which have brought about this result.

**HARBOR DEFENSE.**  
The work of securing sites for shore batteries for harbor defense, and the manufacture of mortars and guns of high power to equip them, has made good progress during the year. The preliminary work of tests and plans, which so long delayed a start, is now out of the way. Some guns have been completed, and with an enlarged shop and a more complete equipment at Watervliet the army will soon be abreast of the navy in gun construction. Whatever unavoidable causes of delay may arise, there should be no more delayed or insufficient appropriations. We shall be greatly embarrassed in the proper distribution and use of naval vessels until adequate shore defenses are provided for our harbors. I concur in the recommendation of the secretary that the three-battalion organization be adopted for the infantry. The adoption of a smokeless powder and a modern rifle equal in range, precision and rapidity of fire to the best now in use, will, I hope, not be longer delayed.

**LO AS A SOLDIER.**  
The project of enlisting Indians and organizing them into separate companies upon the same basis as other soldiers was made the subject of very careful study by the secretary and received my approval. Seven companies have been completely organized and seven more are in process of organization. The results of six months' training have more than realized the highest anticipations. The men are ready, brought under discipline, acquire drill with facility and show great pride in the right discharge of their duties and perfect loyalty to their officers, who declare that they would take them into action with confidence. The discipline, order and cleanliness of the military posts will have a wholesome and elevating influence upon the men enlisted, and through them upon their tribes, while a more friendly feeling for the whites and a greater respect for the government will certainly be promoted.

**A SPECTED RECORD.**  
The great work done in the record and pension division of the war department by Major Ainsworth, of the medical corps, and the clerks under him, is entitled to honorable mention. Taking up the work with nearly 41,000 cases behind, he closed the last fiscal year without a single case left over, though the new cases had increased 52 per cent in number over the previous year by reason of the pension legislation of the last congress.

**ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.**  
I concur in the recommendation of the attorney general that the right in felony cases to a review by the supreme court be limited. It would seem that personal liberty would have a safe guaranty if the right of review in cases involving only fine and imprisonment were limited to a circuit court of appeals, unless a constitutional question should in some way be involved. The judges of the court of private land claims, provided for by the act of March 3, 1891, have been appointed and the court organized. It is now possible to give early relief to communities long repressed in their development by unsettled land titles and to establish the possession and right of settlers whose lands have been rendered valueless by adverse and unfounded claims.

**THE COMING CHINESE.**  
The enforcement by the treasury department of the law prohibiting the coming of Chinese to the United States has been effective as such as seek to land from vessels entering our ports. The result has been to divert the travel to vessels entering the ports of British Columbia, whence passage into the United States at obscure points along the Dominion boundary is easy. A very considerable number of Chinese laborers have, during the past year, entered the United States from Canada and Mexico.

The officers of the treasury department and of the department of justice have used every means at their command to intercept this immigration, but the impossibility of perfectly guarding our extended frontier is apparent. The Dominion government collects a head tax of \$50 from every Chinaman entering Canada and thus derives a considerable revenue from those who only use its ports to reach a position of advantage to evade our exclusion laws. There seems to be satisfactory evidence that the business of passing Chinamen through Canada is organized and quite active. The department of justice has construed the laws to require the return of any Chinaman found to be unlawfully in this country to China or to the country from which he came, notwithstanding the fact that he came to the United States by way of Canada; but several of the district courts have, in cases brought before them, overruled this view of the law and decided that such persons must be returned to Canada. This construction robs the law of all effectiveness, even if the decrees could be executed, for the men returned can the next day re-cross our border. But the only appropriation made is for the return of such persons to China, and the Canadian officials refuse to allow them to re-enter Canada without the payment of \$50 tax. I recommend such legislation as will remedy these defects in the law.

**POSTAL AFFAIRS.**  
In the report of the postmaster general, some very gratifying results are

exhibited and many betterments of the service suggested. A perusal of the report gives abundant evidence that the supervision and direction of the postal system have been characterized by an intelligent and conscientious desire to improve the service. The revenues of the department show an increase of over five millions of dollars, with a deficiency for the year of 1892 of less than four millions of dollars; while the estimate for the year 1893 shows a surplus of receipts over expenditures.

Occasional mail problems have been established upon the steamer of the Navy, German Lloyd and Hamburg Line, sailing by the distribution on shipboard, from two to fourteen hours time in the delivery of mail at the port of entry and often much more than this in the delivery at interior places. So thoroughly has this system, initiated by Germany and the United States, widened its usefulness that it cannot be long before it is installed upon all the great ocean mail carrying steamships.

Eight thousand miles of new postal service has been established upon railroads, the car distribution to sub-stations in the great cities has been increased about 12 per cent, while the percentage of errors in distribution has, during the past year, been reduced over one-half. An appropriation was given by the last Congress for the purpose of making some experiments in free delivery in smaller cities and towns. The results of these experiments have been so satisfactory that the postmaster general recommends, and I concur in the recommendation, that the free delivery system be at once extended to towns of 5,000 population. His discussion of the inadequate facilities extended under our present system to rural communities, and his suggestions with a view to give these communities a full participation in benefits of the postal service are worthy of your careful consideration. It is not just that the farmer, who receives his mail at a neighboring town, should not only be compelled to send to the postoffice for a box, but to place it or to wait for his train at a general delivery window, while the city resident has his mail brought to his door. It is stated that over 51,000 neighborhoods are under the present system, and that at postoffices where money orders are not sent, the extension of this service to these communities is especially desirable as the patrons of such offices are not possessed of the other facilities offered in more populous communities for the transmission of small sums of money. I have, in a message to the preceding Congress, expressed my views as to a modified use of the telegraph in connection with the postal service.

**OCEAN MAIL SERVICE—AMERICAN SHIPS.**  
In pursuance of the ocean mail law of March 3, 1891, and after a most careful study of the whole subject and frequent conferences with ship owners, boards of trade and others, advertisements were issued by the postmaster general for fifty-three lines of ocean mail service—ten to Great Britain and the continent, twenty-seven to South America, three to China and Japan, four to Australia and the Pacific islands, seven to the West Indies and two to Mexico. It was not, of course, expected that bids for such lines would be received or that service upon them all would be contracted for. It was intended in furtherance of the act to secure as many new lines as possible, while including in the list most or all of the foreign lines now occupied by American ships. It was hoped that a line to England and perhaps one to the continent would be secured, but the only one required to equip such lines wholly with ships of the first class and the difficulty of establishing new lines in competition with those already established deterred bidders whose interest had been enlisted. It is hoped that a way may yet be found of overcoming these difficulties.

The Brazil steamship company, by reason of a miscalculation as to the speed of its vessels, were not able to bid under the terms of the advertisement. The policy of the department was to secure such lines as would be received or that service upon them all would be contracted for. It was intended in furtherance of the act to secure as many new lines as possible, while including in the list most or all of the foreign lines now occupied by American ships. It was hoped that a line to England and perhaps one to the continent would be secured, but the only one required to equip such lines wholly with ships of the first class and the difficulty of establishing new lines in competition with those already established deterred bidders whose interest had been enlisted. It is hoped that a way may yet be found of overcoming these difficulties.

It is estimated by the postmaster general that if all the contracts proposed are completed it will require \$247,254 for this year, in addition to the appropriation for sea and inland postage, already in the estimates, and that for the next fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, there would probably be needed about \$500,000.

**OUR NEW NAVY.**  
The report of the secretary of the navy shows a gratifying increase of new naval vessels in commission. The New York, Concord, Bennington and Minnesota have been added during the year, with an aggregate of something over 1,000 tons. Two new gunboats of all classes are now under construction in the navy yards and private shops, but while the work upon them is going forward satisfactorily, the completion of the more important vessels will yet require about a year's time. Some of the vessels now under construction, it is believed, will be triumphs of naval engineering. When it is recalled that the work of building a modern ship was only initiated in the year 1883, that our naval constructors and ship builders were practically without experience in the construction of large iron or steel ships, that our engine shops were unfamiliar with great marine engines and that the manufacture of steel forgings for guns and plates was almost wholly a foreign industry, the progress that has been made is not only highly satisfactory, but furnishes the assurance that the United States will before long attain in the construction of such vessels with their engines and armaments the same pre-eminence which it attained when the best instrument of ocean commerce was the clipper ship and the most impressive exhibit of naval power the old wooden three-decked man-of-war. The officers of the navy and the proprietors of our engine shops of great private shops have responded with wonderful intelligence and professional skill to the confidence expressed by Congress in its liberal legislation. We have now at Washington a gun shop organized and conducted by naval officers that in its system, economy and product is unexcelled. Experiments with armor plate have been conducted during the year with most important results. It

now believed that a plate of higher resisting power than any that has been found, so that the time has been demonstrated that cheaper methods of manufacture than those heretofore thought necessary can be used.

**A NAVY WORTHY OF THE COUNTRY.**  
I commend to your favorable consideration the recommendations of the secretary, who has, I am sure, given to them the most conscientious study. There should be no hesitation in promptly completing a navy of the most modern type, large enough to enable this country to display its flag in all seas for the protection of its citizens and of its extending commerce. The world needs no assurance of the peaceful purposes of the United States, but we shall probably be in the future more largely a competitor in the commerce of the world, and it is essential to the dignity of this nation and to that peaceful influence which it should exercise on this hemisphere, that its navy should be adequate both upon the shores of the Atlantic and of the Pacific.

**INTERIOR DEPARTMENT—THE INDIAN QUESTION.**  
The report of the secretary of the interior shows that a very gratifying progress has been made in all of the business which made up that complex and difficult department. The work in the bureau of Indian affairs was perhaps never so large as now, by reason of the numerous negotiations which have been proceeding with the tribes for the reduction of the reservation, with the incident labor of making allotments and was never more carefully conducted. The provision of adequate school facilities for Indian children and the locating of adult Indians upon farms involve the solution of the "Indian question." Everything else—rations, annuities, and tribal negotiations with the agents, inspectors and commissioners who distribute and conduct them, must wait away when the Indian has become a citizen, secure in the individual ownership of a farm from which he derives his subsistence by his own labor, protected by and subordinate to the laws which govern the white man and provided by the general government or by the local communities in which he lives with the means of educating his children. When an Indian becomes a citizen in an organized state or territory his relation to the general government is that of a citizen, and he is entitled to all the rights and privileges of a citizen. It is not at once to put upon the state or territory the burden of the education of his children. It has been my thought that the government schools and school buildings upon the reservations would be absorbed by the school systems of the states and territories; but, as it has been found necessary to protect the Indian against the competition of the white man in the land by exempting him from taxes and by giving him twenty-five years, it would seem to be right that the general government, certainly where there are tribal funds in its possession, should pay to the school fund of the state what would be equivalent to the local school tax upon the property of the Indian.

It will be noticed from the report of the commissioner of Indian affairs that already some contracts have been made with certain schools for the education of Indian children. There is no doubt, in my opinion, that the Indian children in mixed schools. This process will be gradual, and in the meantime the present educational provisions and arrangements, the result of the best experience of those who have been charged with this work, should be continued. This will enable those religious bodies that have undertaken the work of Indian education with so much zeal and with results so restraining and beneficent, to place their institutions in new and useful relations to the Indian and to his white neighbors.

**STARTLING ANOMALY.**  
The relation of the five civilized tribes now occupying the Indian territory to the United States is not, I believe, that best calculated to promote the highest advancement of these Indians. That there should be within our borders five independent states, having no relations except those growing out of treaties with the government of the United States, no representation in the national legislature, its people not citizens is a startling anomaly. It seems to me to be inevitable that there shall be before any organic changes in the relation of these people to the United States. What form these changes should take I do not think it advisable now to suggest, even if they were well defined in my own mind. They should certainly include acceptance of citizenship by the Indian and representation in Congress. The Indians should have opportunity to present their claims and grievances upon the floor rather than, as now, in the lobby. If a commission could be appointed to visit these tribes to confer with them in a friendly spirit upon this whole subject, even if no agreement were presently reached, the feeling of the tribes upon this question would be developed and discussion would prepare the way for changes which must come sooner or later.

**INDIAN LANDS OPENED TO SETTLEMENT.**  
The good work of reducing the larger Indian reservations by allotments in severalty to the Indians, and the cession of the remaining lands to the United States for disposition under the homestead law, has been prosecuted during the year with energy and success. In September last I was enabled to open to settlement in the territory of Oklahoma some 1,000,000 acres of land, all of which was taken up by settlers in a single day. The rush for these lands was accompanied by a great deal of excitement, but was happily free from incidents of violence.

It was a source of great regret that I was not able to open at the same time the surplus lands of the Cheyenne and Arapahoe reservation, amounting to about 3,000,000 acres, by reason of the insufficiency of the appropriation for making the allotments. Deserving and impatient settlers are waiting to occupy these lands, and I urgently recommend that a special deficiency appropriation be promptly made of the small amount needed, so that the allotments may be completed and the surplus lands opened in time to permit the settlers to get upon their homesteads in the early spring. During the past summer the Cherokee strip has been completed, and the cession of this large and valuable tract may be secured. The price of the land is to be paid in installments, which the commission was authorized to offer, one dollar and a quarter per acre, in my judgment, when all the circumstances as to the title and the character of the lands are considered, a fair and adequate one and should have been accepted by the Indians. Since March 4, 1889, about 230,000

acres have been separated from Indian reservations and added to the public domain for use of those who desired to secure free homes under our beneficent laws. It is difficult to estimate the increase of wealth which will result from the conversion of these waste lands into farms but its more difficult to estimate the betterment which will result to the families that have found renewed hope and courage in the ownership of a home and the assurance of a comfortable subsistence under free and healthful conditions. It is also gratifying to be able to say, that, in this work has proceeded upon the lines of justice towards the Indian, and that he may now, if he will, secure to himself the good influences of a settled habitation, the fruits of industry, and the security of citizenship.

**PENSIONERS.**  
The administration of the pension bureau has been characterized during the year by great diligence. The total number of pensioners upon the rolls on the 30th day of June, 1891, was 670,100. There were allowed during the fiscal year ending at that time 250,565 cases. Of this number 102,387 were allowed under the law of June 27, 1890.

The issuing of certificates has been proceeding at the rate of about 30,000 per month, about 75 per cent of these being cases under the new law. The commissioner expresses the opinion that he will be able to carefully adjudicate and allow 550,000 claims during the present fiscal year. The amount of the pension of pensioners for the fiscal year 1890-91 was \$127,685,793.89, and the amount expended \$118,500,619.25, leaving an unexpended surplus of \$9,185,174.64. The commissioner is quite confident that there will be no call this year for a deficiency appropriation, notwithstanding the expediency with which the work is being pushed. The mistake which has been made by many in their exaggerated estimates of pensioners is in not taking account of the diminishing number of first payments under the recent legislation. These payments under the general law have been for many years very large, as the pensions, when allowed, dated from the time of filing the claim and most of these claims had been pending for years. The first payments under the law of June, 1890, are relatively small, and as the per cent of cases increases and that of the old cases diminishes, the annual aggregate of first payments is largely reduced.

The commissioner, under date of November 13, furnishes me with the statement that during the past four months 113,175 certificates were issued, 27,893 under the general law and 85,282 under the act of June 27, 1890. The average first payment during these four months was \$131.85, while the average first payment upon cases allowed during the year ending June 30, 1891, was \$127.33, being a reduction in the average first payments during these four months of \$107.43. The estimate for pension expenditures for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, is \$144,556,000, which, after a careful examination of the subject, the commissioner is of the opinion will be sufficient. While these disbursements to the disabled soldiers of the great civil war are large, they do not realize the exaggerated estimates of those who expect to see the pension roll swell to a vast number of millions. The secretary of the interior shows with great fullness the care that is taken to exclude fraudulent claims, and also the gratifying fact that the persons to whom these pensions are going are men who rendered not slight but substantial service.

**RAILROADS NOT READY TO PAY.**  
The report of the commissioner of railroads shows that the total debt of the subsidized railroads to the United States was, on December 31, 1890, \$112,512,423.06. On that date this debt was not fast approaching maturity with adequate provision for its payment. Some policy for dealing with this debt with a view to its ultimate collection should be at once adopted. It is very difficult, well nigh impossible, for so large a body as the Congress to conduct the necessary negotiations and investigations. I therefore recommend that a commission be made for the appointment of a commission to agree upon and report a plan for dealing with this debt.

**CENSUS WORK.**  
The work of the census bureau is now far in advance and the great bulk of the enormous labor involved completed. It will be more strictly a statistical exhibit and less encumbered by essays than its immediate predecessors. The methods pursued have been fair, careful and intelligent, and have secured approval of the statisticians who have followed them with a scientific and non-partisan interest. The appropriations necessary for the completion and publication of the authorized volumes should be given in time to secure against delays which increase the cost and at the same time diminish the value of the work.

**IRRIGATION IN THE TERRITORIES.**  
The report of the secretary exhibits with interesting fullness the condition of the territories. They have shared with the states the great increase in products and are bringing early areas into cultivation by extending their irrigation facilities. This work is being done by individuals, local corporations, and without that system which a full preliminary survey of the water supply and of the irrigable lands would enable them to adopt. The future of the territories of New Mexico, Arizona and Utah is their material growth and in the increase, independence and happiness of their people is very largely dependent upon wise and timely legislation, either by Congress or their own local governments, regulating the distribution of the water supply furnished by their streams. If this matter is much longer neglected private corporations will have unrestricted control of one of the elements of life, and the patents of the arid lands will be tenants at will of the water companies.

The United States should part with its ownership of the water sources and the sites for reservoirs, whether to the states or territories, or to individuals or corporations, only upon condition that will ensure to the settlers their proper water supply upon equal and reasonable terms. In the territories this whole subject is under the full control of Congress, and in the states it is practically so as long as the government holds the title to the reservoir sites and water sources, and can grant them upon such conditions as it chooses to impose. The improvement of local water sources of enormous value without recompense to the state or municipality from which they proceed and without proper protection of the public interests, is the most noticeable and flagrant evil of modern legislation. This fault should not be committed in dealing with a subject that will before many years effect so vitally thousands of our people.

**REPRESSION OF POLYGAMY.**  
The legislation of Congress for the repression of polygamy has, after years of resistance on the part of the Mormons, at last brought them to the conclusion that resistance is unprofitable and unavailing. The power of Congress over this subject should not be surrendered

until we have satisfactory evidence that the people of the state to be created would exercise the exclusive power of the state over this subject in the same way. The question is not whether these people now obey the laws of Congress against polygamy, but rather would they make, enforce and maintain such laws themselves if absolutely free to regulate the subject. We cannot afford to experiment with this subject, for when a state is once constituted the act is final and any mistake irrevocable. So compact in enabling act could in my opinion be binding or effective.

**ALASKA.**  
I recommend that provision be made for the organization of a simple form of town government in Alaska, with power to regulate such matters as are usually in the state municipal control. These local civil organizations will give better protection in some matters than the present skeleton territorial organization. Proper restrictions as to the power to levy taxes and create debts should be imposed.

**DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.**  
If the establishment of the department of agriculture was regarded by anyone as a mere concession to the unenlightened demand of a worthy class of people, that impression has been most effectively removed by the great results already attained. Its home influence has been very great in disseminating agricultural and horticultural information; in stimulating and directing a further diversification of crops; in detecting and eradicating diseases of domestic animals; and, more than all, in the close and informal contact which it has established and maintains with the farmers and stock raisers of the whole country. Every request for information has had prompt attention and every suggestion merited consideration. The scientific corps of the department is of a high order and is pushing its investigations with method and enthusiasm. The inspection by the department of cattle and pork products intended for shipment abroad has been the basis of series which has attended our efforts to secure the removal of the restrictions maintained by the European governments.

For ten years protests and petitions upon this subject from the packers and stock-raisers of the United States have been directed against the restrictions which so seriously limited our markets and curtailed the profits of the farm.

**MARKET FOR HOME PRODUCTS.**  
It is a source of general congratulation that success has at least been attended, for the effects of an enlarged foreign market for these meats will be felt, not only by the farmer, but in our public finances and in every branch of trade. It is particularly fortunate that the increased demand for food products, resulting from the removal of the restrictions upon our meats and from the reciprocity trade arrangements to which I have referred, should have come at a time when the agricultural surplus is so large, without the help of the government, that the surplus has prevailed. The secretary of agriculture estimates that the restrictions upon the importation of our pork products into Europe lost us a market for \$20,000,000 worth of these products annually. The grain crop of this year was the largest in our history, 50 per cent greater than that of last year, and yet the new markets that have been opened and the larger demand resulting from short crops in Europe have sustained prices to such an extent that the enormous surplus of meats and breadstuffs will be marketed at good prices, bringing relief and prosperity to an industry that was much depressed.

The value of the grain crop of the United States is estimated by the secretary to be this year, five hundred million dollars more than last; of seeds, one hundred and fifty millions more; and of all products, more. It is seven hundred millions more. It is not inappropriate, I think, here to suggest that our satisfaction in the contemplation of this marvelous addition to the national wealth is unclouded by any suspicion of the currency by which it is measured and in which the farmer is paid for the product of his fields.

**CIVIL SERVICE.**  
The report of the civil service commission should receive the careful attention of the opponents, as well as the friends, of this reform. The commission has been under the inspection of senators and representatives by records and methods; and every fair critic will feel that such an examination should precede a judgment of condemnation, either of the system or its administration. It is not claimed that either is perfect, but I believe the law is being executed with impartiality and that the system is incomparably better and fairer than that of appointments upon favor.

I have during the year extended the classified service to include superintendents, teachers, matrons and physicians in the Indian service. This branch of the service is largely related to educational and philanthropic work, and will obviously be better for the change. The heads of the various executive departments have been directed to establish at once an efficiency record as the basis of a comparative rating of the clerks with the classified service. This work is being placed upon a basis of merit. I am confident that such a record, fairly kept and open to the inspection of those interested, will powerfully stimulate the work of the departments, and will be accepted by all as placing the troublesome matter of promotion upon a good basis.

I recommend that the appropriations for the civil service commission be made adequate to the increased work of the next fiscal year.

**PROTECTION FOR RAILWAY EMPLOYEES.**  
I have twice before urged that the attention of Congress to the necessity of legislation for the protection of the lives of railroad employees has not yet been done. During year ending June 30, 1890, 269 brakemen were killed and 7,841, maimed while engaged in coupling cars. The total number of railroad employees killed during year was 2,941 and the number injured 22,390. This is a cruel and largely a needless sacrifice. The government is spending nearly \$1,000,000 annually to save the lives of shipwrecked seamen; every steam vessel is rigidly inspected and required to adopt the most approved safety appliances. All this is good; but how shall we excuse the lack of interest of effort in behalf of this army of brave young men who in our land commerce are being sacrificed every year by the continued use of antiquated and dangerous appliances? A law requiring of every railroad engaged in interstate commerce the equipment each year of a given per cent of its freight cars with automatic couplers and air brakes, would compel an agreement between the roads as to the kind of brakes and couplers to be used and would very soon and very greatly reduce the present fearful death rate among railroad employees.

**PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS—THE MICHIGAN LAW.**  
The method of appointment by the states of electors of President and Vice

President has recently attracted renewed interest by reason of a departure by the state of Michigan from the method which had become uniform in all the states. Prior to 1832 various methods had been used by the different states and even by the same state. In some the choice was made by the legislature; in others the electors were chosen by districts, but more generally by the voters of the whole state upon a general ticket. The movement towards the adoption of the last named method had an early beginning and went steadily forward among the states until in 1832 they remained but a single state, South Carolina, that had not adopted it. That state until the civil war continued to choose its electors by a vote of the legislature, but after the war changed its method and conformed to the practice of the other states.

For nearly sixty years all the states save one have appointed their electors by a popular vote upon a general ticket, and for nearly thirty years this method was universal. After a full test of other methods without important division of dissent in any state and without any purpose of party advantage, as we must believe, but solely upon the considerations that uniformity was desirable and that a general election in territorial divisions not subject to change was most consistent with the popular character of our institutions, best preserved the equality of voters and perfectly removed the choice of President from the baneful influence of the "gerrymander," the practice of all the states was brought into uniformity. This is a concurrence should now be broken, I think, an unfortunate and even a threatening episode, and one that may well suggest whether the states that still give their approval to the old and prevailing method ought not to secure, by a constitutional amendment, a practice which has had the approval of all. The recent Michigan legislation provides for choosing what are popularly known as the congressional electors for the territory by congressional districts, and the two senatorial electors by districts created for that purpose.

**THE CONVENIENT GERRYMANDER.**  
This legislation was, of course, accompanied by a new congressional apportionment, and the two statutes bring the electoral vote of the state under the influence of the "gerrymander." These gerrymanders for congressional purposes are in most cases buttressed by a gerrymander of the legislative districts, thus making it impossible for a majority of the legal voters of the state to correct the apportionment and equalize the congressional districts. A minority rule is established that only a political convulsion can overthrow. I have recently been advised that in one county of a certain state three districts for the election of members of the legislature are constituted as follows: One has 65,000 population, one 15,000 and one 10,000; while in another county, detached, non-contiguous selections have been made to make local districts. These methods have already found effective application to the choice of senators and representatives in Congress and in now a step has been made in the direction of applying them to choice by states of electors of President and Vice President. If this is accomplished we shall then have the three great departments of the government in the grasp of the "gerrymander," the legislative and executive departments, and the judicial directly through the power of appointment. An election implies a body of electors having prescribed headquarters, each one of whom has an equal value and influence in determining the result. So when the constitution provides that "each state shall appoint" (elect), "in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct a number of electors," etc., an unrestricted power was not given the legislatures in the selection of the methods to be used. "A Republican form of government" is guaranteed by the constitution to each state and the power given by the same instrument to legislatures of the state to prescribe methods for choice by the state of electors must be exercised under that limitation.

The essential features of such a government are the right of the people to choose their own officers and the near-practicable equality of value in the suffrages given in counting the choice. It will not be claimed that the power given to the legislature would support a law providing that the persons receiving the smallest vote should be the electors or a law that all electors should be chosen by the voters of a single congressional district in the state, and under the pretense of regulating methods the legislature can neither vest the right of choice elsewhere nor employ methods not comfortable to the public mind. Instead of a law for the purpose here to discuss the question whether a choice by the legislature or by the voters of equal single districts is a choice by the state, but only to recommend such regulation of this matter by constitutional amendment as will secure uniformity and prevent that disgraceful partisan jugglery to which such a liberty of choice, if it exists, offers a temptation.

**OUR CHIEF NATIONAL DANGER.**  
Nothing just now is more important than to provide every guarantee for absolutely fair and free choice by an equal suffrage within the respective states of all the electors of the national government, whether that suffrage is applied directly, as in the choice of members of the house of representatives, or indirectly as in the choice of senators and electors of President. Respect for public officers and obedience to law will not cease to be the character of our people until our elections cease to declare the will of the majorities fairly entertained without fraud, suppression or gerrymander.

I have called upon to declare wherein our chief national danger lies, should say, without hesitation, in the overthrow of majority control by the suppression or perversion of the popular suffrage. That there is real danger here all must agree, but the energies of those who see it have been chiefly expended in trying to fix the responsibility upon the opposite party, rather than in efforts to make such practices impossible by either party. Is it not possible now to adjourn that terrible and inconceivable debate while we take, by consent, one step in the direction of reform by eliminating the gerrymander, which has been denounced by all parties as an influence in the selection of electors of President and members of Congress?

All the states have, acting freely and separately, determined that the choice of electors by a general ticket is the wisest and safest method, and it would seem there could be no objection to a constitutional amendment to make that method permanent. If a legislature chosen in one year upon purely local questions should, pending a presidential contest, meet, rescind the law for a choice upon a general ticket and provide for the choice of electors by the legislature, and this trick should determine the result, it is not too much to say that the public peace might be seriously and widely endangered. I have alluded to the "gerrymander" as affecting the methods of selecting electors of President by Congressional dis-

tricts, but the primary intent and effect of this form of political robbery was to select the members of the house of representatives. The power of Congress is ample to deal with this threatening and intolerable abuse. The unflinching test of sincerity in election reform will be found in a willingness to confer as to remedies and to put into force such measures as will most effectively preserve the right of the people to free and equal representation.

**FRUITS AGAINST THE SUFFRAGE.**  
An attempt was made in the last Congress to bring to bear the constitutional powers of the general government for the correction of frauds against the suffrage. It is important to know whether the opposition to such measure is really rested in particular features supposed to be objectionable, or includes any proposition to give to the election laws of the United States adequate to the correction of the grave and acknowledged evils. I must yet entertain the hope that it is possible to secure a calm, patriotic consideration of such constitutional or statutory changes as may be necessary to secure the choice of the officers of the government to the people by fair apportionment and free elections.

I believe it would be possible to constitute a commission non-partisan in its membership and composed of patriotic, wise and impartial men to whom a consideration of the question of the evils connected with our election system and the remedies might be committed with a good prospect of securing unanimity in some plan for removing or mitigating these evils. The constitution would permit the selection of a commission to be vested in the supreme court, if that method would give the best guaranty of impartiality. This commission should be charged with the duty of inquiring into the whole subject of the law of elections as related to the choice of officers of the national government, with a view to securing every elector a free and unimpaired exercise of the suffrage and as near an approach to an equality of value in each ballot cast as is attainable.

While the policies of the general government upon the tariff, upon the restoration of our merchant marine, upon river and harbor improvements, and other such matters of grave and general concern are liable to be turned this way or that by the result of congressional elections, and administrative questions are a matter only of local concern or control, the domestic and international relations of the United States, and the limitations of suffrage shall be found in the law, and only there, is a just demand, and no just man should resent or resist it. My appeal is, and must continue to be, for a consultation that shall "proceed with candor, calmness and patience upon the lines of justice and humanity, not of prejudice and cruelty."

To the consideration of these very grave questions I invite not only the attention of Congress, but that of all patriotic citizens. We must not entertain the delusion that our people have ceased to regard a free ballot and equal representation as the price of their allegiance to laws and to civil magistracies.

**A UNITED PEOPLE.**  
I have been greatly rejoiced to notice many evidences of the increased unification of our people and of a revived national spirit. The vista that now opens to us is wider and more glorious than ever before. Gratification and amazement struggle for supremacy as we contemplate the population, wealth and moral strength of our country. A trust, momentous in its influence upon our people and upon the world, is for a brief time committed to us, and we must not be faithless to its first commission—the defense of the free and equal influence of the people in the choice of public officers and in the control of public affairs.

BREX. HARRISON.  
Executive Mansion, December 10, 1891.

**YOU'RE NO IDIOT.**  
How nicely Hood's Sarsaparilla hits the needs of people who feel "all tired out" or "run down," from any cause. It seems to oil up the whole mechanism of the body so that all moves smoothly and work becomes a positive delight. Be sure to get Hood's.

Hood's Pills act especially upon the liver, rousing it from torpidity to its natural duties, care constipation and assist digestion.

You can get the right price on American Watches of O. C. Genter.

Tim Wheeling Building Association is still open for new members. Meets Saturday evenings at office of Franklin Insurance Company, No. 24 Twelfth street.

INDIGESTION! Miserable! Take BREWSTER'S PILLS.

O. C. GENTER warrants all of his American Watches to be time-keepers.

I. S. Good sells dry goods the cheapest.

Children Cry for Pitcher's Castoria.

CHINA, GLASS & QUEENWARE.

Holiday Goods!

An elegant line of Goods suitable for

Christmas Presents,

NOW READY, CONSISTING OF

Decorated Tea and Dinner Ware,

GAME, DESERT AND FANCY

Chamber Sets!

Bronze and Ivory Statuary, Golden Bow and Arrows, Cut Glassware, Toilet, Toilet, Toilet, Green and Ivory, Crown, Dixon, Carved and Japanese Goods.

PIANO, PARLOR and LIBRARY LAMPS,

And a large variety of

FANCY NOVELTIES!

Inspection Respectfully Invited.